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good work in following the many threads of ministerial policy, party tactics, factional plots, and French intrigue connected with the succession question. He describes the passage of the Act of Security, and the motives of the Scottish leaders. He then takes up the course of negotiations looking towards a closer union, and gives much new light on the process by which at length a real "incorporating union" was brought about. He makes it clear that the Scottish idea of a closer union went no farther at first than a project for separate legislative action on common lines, or at most a federal connection of some sort. The insistence on a complete union was from the English side. Dr. Mackinnon shows how skilfully the English negotiators used the trade advantages of such a union, coupled with an offer of compensation for the shareholders of the Darien enterprise, as against the alternative of continued exclusion, disquiet, and possible war. He enters into the details of the religious, political, and financial questions that had to be settled: the security of the Presbyterian system against Episcopalian inroads; the securities for the peculiar laws and customs of Scotland; the "equivalent" to be allowed to Scotland in consideration of her freedom from debt, and the higher duties on foreign trade which the Union would impose on her; the number of members to be allowed her in each house of the United Parliament, etc. The effect of Marlborough's first victories is shown in the greater readiness of the Scottish negotiators to yield on subordinate points.

The final struggle in the Scottish Parliament, and the great commotion among the people, are well described. Then follow some chapters on the working of the Union, showing that its immediate results disappointed its champions, and led to attempts to "break" it. The real benefits of the Union to Scotland did not appear till after the rebellion of 1745. In a closing chapter on "Nationality and the Union" the author appears to grieve over the decay of Scottish national sentiment, as a result of the Union. But it may well be doubted whether sectional patriotism is a thing to be encouraged. There is now no nation of Scotland, and the real union of the two peoples, English and Scotch, into a single nationality is but happy evidence that their political union was wise and natural. That out of a recent past so full of all malice and uncharitableness, so close and cordial a union has been built up, is no slight token of the political sagacity that reigns on both sides of the Tweed.

History of Prussia under Frederic the Great, 1756-1757. By HERBERT TUTTLE, late Professor in Cornell University. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author by Herbert B. Adams. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1896. Pp. xlv, 159.)

THE third volume of Professor Tuttle's *History of Prussia*, published in 1888, brought the narrative of Frederic's reign down to the moment of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. It was the author's intention

to devote the fourth volume to the events of that war, and to complete the reign of Frederic in the fifth. The completion of such a work would have enriched American historical literature in a department where it can at present show few great pieces of work. Professor Tuttle was peculiarly fitted, both by his training and by his abilities, to write on Prussian history. Few Americans have had the taste or the opportunity to make such an exhaustive study of Prussian and German institutions at first hand, and few have possessed Tuttle's keen insight and judicial fairness in estimating them.

The present volume is only a fragment, comprising the three chapters left in completed form by the author at his death in 1894. These chapters deal with the seizure of Saxony and the campaign of 1756, the diplomatic negotiations of the following winter, and the great series of battles in 1757 ending with Leuthen. The volume may be taken as a memorial of the author as well as a continuation of his history. Professor Adams has written for it an appreciative sketch of Professor Tuttle's life, and a bibliography of his writings. Tuttle's training for his work was in some respects unique. Beginning his career as a journalist soon after leaving college, he spent several years at Berlin as correspondent of the *London Daily News* and the *New York Tribune*, at that period when the new empire was passing through its formative era. During this time he was busily engaged in collecting materials for his *History of Prussia*, and, what was equally important, he was studying on the spot the inner workings of Prussian and German politics. Some of these latter studies bore fruit in a little volume on *German Political Leaders*, published in 1876. When it is considered that in no other country does the political life of the present stand in so close a relation to that of the past, the value of this preparation becomes readily apparent.

Tuttle's idea in his history was to present "the life of Prussia as a state, the development of polity, the growth of institutions, the progress of society." It covers a field, therefore, entirely distinct from that of Carlyle's *Frederick*, and is based largely on a great mass of new materials which have appeared since Carlyle's time. In the present volume, however, there is less of institutional study than in the earlier ones, since it is concerned with a period filled wholly with the events of war and diplomacy. The first chapter, on the "Seizure of Saxony," is a good sample of Tuttle's industry and fairness. The occupation of Saxony without a declaration of war was in violation of every principle of international law even as construed in that age. But, in the first place, "this change of authority was not an unmixed evil for the Saxon people. Great as were the hardships of military occupation, and irksome as was the rule of a foreign invader, the expulsion of Brühl and the overthrow of his system were compensating benefits to which the natives could not have been insensible" (p. 5). Again, the air of injured innocence assumed by the Saxon court at this time could certainly deceive nobody, since August and Brühl had known for the past two years that Frederic was secretly receiving

accurate information from the Saxon Foreign Office of their share in the coalition then forming. August's second letter of protest against the occupation could therefore hardly have been meant as a serious document, since his engagements with the imperial court were such as to render the concession of the right of passage to Frederic's armies an act of treachery. "If it had expressed real sentiments, and if international law had been understood a century and a half ago as it is understood to-day, the court of Vienna would have been the offended party, and its challenge would have converted the elector into an ally of Prussia" (p. 10). The final justification for Frederic's policy, if justification be found at all, must rest not on the basis of abstract right, but on that of a right born of necessity, and the seizure of Saxony must be placed along with the general plan of beginning the war at this time as a purely defensive movement. Knowing all that he did of what was passing between Dresden and Vienna, Frederic can easily be shown to have had considerable justification for his plea that he was beginning a defensive war.

It was an inevitable consequence of this arbitrary seizure of one state of the Empire by another that the house of Austria should use this apparent violation of the imperial constitution as a pretext to draw the other states of the Empire into the struggle for its own advantage. On the vexed question of the legality of this proceeding, Professor Tuttle preserves his usual balance. He has used the whole subject to illustrate the hopeless decrepitude and confusion into which the imperial administration had fallen. Of the preliminary edict issued by the Emperor against Frederic, he says that, "stripped of all its verbiage, the paper sounds like the hue and cry proclaimed by a sheriff against a notorious felon. This was absurd, of course, but it was not novel. The usage of the Empire still tolerated, or rather sacredly guarded, the fiction that its authority over the princes and other members was that of the officers of law over individuals, so that its violent tones neither deceived nor surprised" (p. 55). In the war of decrees and counter-decrees that followed, the one point that stands out prominently is the question whether Frederic's position was that of a rebellious subject or a hostile sovereign; whether his offence should be treated as constitutional or international. In either case the action of Austria was inconsistent; for she sought and secured the aid of the imperial body, on the ground that the offence was a German one, while negotiating for the aid of France in an international war. While hesitating to pronounce a final judgment on the constitutional questions involved, Tuttle believes that Frederic was technically wrong, but that "in a larger sense the proceedings against him were wholly devoid of any judicial character. The Austrians simply used the imperial machinery in support of their own national and dynastic interests. The emperor, the aulic council, the fiscal committee, and even . . . the diet itself, were not so many tribunals, which on account of the justice of her cause Maria Theresa was able to gain, but mere agents who lent their official characters and powers to her support" (p. 57).

That remarkable series of battles which distinguished the year 1757 was treated minutely, and in the main accurately, by Carlyle. Indeed, this may be said to have been the most truly historical portion of his work. Tuttle has not deemed it necessary to his purpose to enter at great length upon the subject, but has given in clear and compact form the essential facts about the campaign. His criticisms of Frederic's military operations, however, show that he has mastered the great body of literature that has grown up about the subject. Such a labor must have been enormous, and he is reported to have declared in his later years that "the wars of Frederic would kill him," — a prophecy which, unfortunately, proved too true. The present volume only increases the regret that its gifted author did not live to write the story of Frederic's later work as an administrator, a task for which he was especially fitted and which sadly needs the work of such a hand.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

L'Idée de l'État. Essai critique sur l'Histoire des Théories sociales et politiques en France depuis la Révolution. Par HENRY MICHEL. (Paris : Hachette et Cie. Deuxième édition. 1896. Pp. 659.)

WITHIN the last twenty years there has arisen in France a reaction against collectivism and toward individualism. To this eddy in the current of thought such books as the volume before us and Leroy-Beaulieu's *L'État et ses Fonctions* belong. It could scarcely be otherwise than that the constantly enlarging functions of the democratic state should awaken solicitude. Michel does not indeed wish to narrow the functions of the state. His object rather is to vindicate, for the individual, rights upon which the state may not encroach and claims which it may not disregard. Modern individualists have discarded the social contract as an historical fact, but they still accept it as a rational principle governing the relation between individuals and the state.

It is from this point of view that Michel examines the movement of ideas from the middle of the eighteenth century to our own day. He passes in review the writings of political philosophers, statesmen, political economists, sociologists, — in short, all who have dealt with the state, — and in each case he asks how the particular school or writer stands toward this question. As a history of the political thought of the last hundred years, the book is admirable. No one can read it without being struck with the ample learning, the discriminating judgment, the subtlety of analysis, and the lucidity of expression displayed on every page. An introduction of a hundred pages deals with the period before the French Revolution. After characterizing briefly Voltaire, the Encyclopædists, and the physiocrats, the author takes up the individualistic movement of the century as embodied in its chief representatives, notably Rousseau. This outburst of individualism is attributed to the influence of the Cartesian philosophy and of